

New Republic

W.R. Bus - NA
An Editorial . . .

Truman Should Withdraw

The Loyalty Program

1947-1952

Five Years of Trial and Error

AN INTERVIEW WITH SETH RICHARDSON

Some Stories of Its Victims

BY REV. A. POWELL DAVIES

Letters

Catholics and Liberalism

● As a professing Christian may I express the opinion that Vincent J. Geise's view toward liberalism (NR, Jan. 7) is unfortunate both for the future of America and in the larger sense for the future of man.

To consider man's endeavor to save himself by his own efforts as a hopeless task is incompatible with the liberal's belief in the potential powers of man. The world will be saved only as human beings grow into an awareness of these powers—the greatest of which is love—and make their best effort toward an independent creative use of these powers. Such an affirmation of life leaves the enlightened individual to follow the dictates of his conscience, so that while it does not preclude the Incarnation and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, neither does it insist on these Christian beliefs. The liberal would rather suggest that dignity was conferred upon man, not by Jesus Christ as Mr. Geise suggests, but by God when He rescinded part of His omnipotence to endow man with the power to choose freely between good and evil—the power to shape human destiny.

It is hoped that Roman Catholicism and all formal religious groups will acquire a faith in *man* realizing that religion is but one link in the great chain that binds humanity together in its effort toward creating a better tomorrow.

HENRY HORNING JR.
Pvt. A.U.S. US52095854

Fort Monmouth, N. J.

● Mr. Vincent Giese, in his article on "Liberalism: a Catholic View" (NR, Jan. 7) quotes Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr. The non-dogmatist can also quote Dr. Niebuhr to refute Mr. Giese's view that without a faith in Christian dogma "the two principal planks of any liberal program—freedom and justice—are at best shaky."

On page 92 of Dr. Niebuhr's book *Discerning the Signs of the Times*, he says:

It must be recognized that this impulse toward the achievement of justice and brotherhood in the past two centuries has frequently been borne *primarily by secularists* who emphasized the petition which *Christians had neglected*; "Thy Kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." [Italics mine.]

New York City MYLA JO CLOSSER

The 1952 Campaign

● . . . As a worthy team for the Democratic nominations for President and Vice President, I can think of none better qualified and more deserving than Sens. Estes Kefauver and Hubert Humphrey. These are men of ability in statesmanship, and character of the noblest and highest order, and with them at the helm of our ship of state, its safety would be assured.

Lititz, Pa.

JEROME GREINER

The Treaty of Frankfurt

● . . . Your reader, Stanton A. Coblenz, (NR, Sept. 3) in speaking about Bismarck's Treaty of Frankfurt, comes up with the amazing statement that France was "stripped of the fortresses of Strasbourg and Metz," . . . and was "deprived of virtually all Alsace and most of Lorraine." (He omitted to elaborate on the parts of Lorraine that France was not "deprived" of.)

Just a short memo for reader Coblenz' history books: The provinces of Alsace and Lorraine were "stripped" from Germany some 150 years by France and, naturally, Germany asked and got back what "belonged" to her. France after World War I reciprocated and Hitler re-reciprocated. Goethe . . . mentions Strasbourg and its atmosphere while he was studying there, hardly a generation after Louis XIV had seized the city: it was wholly German in character and language.

Mr. Coblenz [believes] that this treaty "represented all that the world today should avoid if it does not wish to pave the road to future holocausts." Nothing could be further from the truth. On the contrary, I submit that *because* we are losing (or have lost) the peace by acting foolishly in Germany, we could learn from Bismarck. He allowed the beaten foe to remilitarize, without, however, losing control. He did not wish the former "enemy" to entertain feelings of "revenge." It was a string of his successors who lost control over France's *revanche* and cried "à la Berlin," as so aptly described by Zola.

Los Angeles, Calif.

HANS A. ILLING

New Leadership

● It is well known that when the Russians dislike what some particular American writer has to say about world affairs they link him to responsibility for the latest lynchings in Mississippi. However unattractive it may be, this sort of counter-attack has won a certain following among self-avowed defenders of democracy, even liberals. One instance of this technique was the letter written to you

recently by Louis Jay Herman (NR, Jan. 21). Mr. Herman didn't like an article written by Arnold Toynbee. But instead of contesting Toynbee's arguments on their own merits, he linked them heavily-handedly to "the millions of prisoners in Stalin's slave camps" and "Adolf Hitler's gas chambers."

Now Arnold Toynbee, it will be admitted even by Mr. Herman, has not been conspicuous by his sympathies with either Communism or Nazism. His only apparent fault was to voice some political opinions which clashed with those of your letter-writer. But why did that person feel impelled to use such ill-controlled language? I had only one clue. Something in his language, I knew, was very similar to the verbal stereotypes tossed around in another magazine. And on leafing through a copy of the *New Leader*, I found that Mr. Herman is indeed listed as an editor of that journal. Well, that in part explained it because the anti-Stalinists on the *New Leader* have apparently

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

Loudly Sing Cuckoo

The *Goshawk*, which Putnam will bring out in March, describes the slow process by which Mr. White trained his own falcon, Gos, and how man and bird came to know each other so well that eventually Mr. White stayed up nights reading Shakespeare aloud to the hawk. — *From "Book Notes" in the New York Herald Tribune.*

The Well-Dressed Corporation

In men's wear today there is such a wide range of quiet-toned fabrics that every man should have at least one suit which gives him the air of a chairman of the board or corporation vice-president. — *Gloria Swanson in This Week magazine.*

Boondoggling

Admiral Moreell [president of Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.] assailed the Post Office as a government monopoly and called it "typical of how the myth of indispensability of a government activity can be foisted on a credulous public and eventually receive general acceptance." — *From the Toledo Times.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; \$2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. — The Editors.

CONTENTS FOR FEB. 4, 1952

- 5 Truman Should Withdraw
An Editorial
- 6 Egypt for the Egyptians?
An Editorial
- 7 The Week
- 7 Robert P. Patterson
- 7 The French and North Africa
- 8 Tidelands Compromise
- 8 Prosperous Textiles
- 9 A Union in St. Louis . . .
- 10 Outside America
- 11 Loyalty Needs Better Friends, by
A. Powell Davies
- 13 Five Long Years of Loyalty, by
Arnold J. Heidenheimer
- 16 Detroit: Ghost Arsenal?
by Guy Nunn
- 18 Books:
- 18 Chinese Religion and the
Nature of Man, by
Benjamin Schwartz
- 19 "The Selected Letters of Henry
Adams," reviewed by
Morton White
- 19 "The Necessary Angel," re-
viewed by Rolf Fjelde
- 20 "The Mark of Oppression,"
reviewed by Daniel Rosenblatt
- 21 Fiction Parade
- 21 Books in Brief
- 21 On the Air
- 22 Theatre

EDITOR: Michael Straight

EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven

PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane

ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Helen Fuller

ASSISTANT EDITOR: Elizabeth Huling

REPORTERS: Jean Begeman, Arnold J.
Heidenheimer

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Malcolm Cowley,
John Farrelly, Harold L. Ickes, Joseph P.
Lash, Max Lerner, James R. Newman,
Gus Tyler

DEPARTMENTS: Robert Hatch (Chief), Cecil
Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio and
Television), Harold Clurman (Theatre),
Lincoln Kirstein (Fine Arts)

COPY ASSISTANT: Lucille Davis

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1952, IN
THE U. S. A., BY WESTBURY PUBLICATIONS,
INC., PUBLISHING OFFICE 301 N. ST., N. E.,
WASHINGTON 2, D. C. EDITORIAL AND BUSI-
NESS COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE AD-
DRESSED TO 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17,
N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER
SEPTEMBER 26, 1950, AT THE POST OFFICE AT
WASHINGTON, D. C., UNDER THE ACT OF
MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 20c; YEARLY
SUBSCRIPTION, \$6.50; CANADA AND FOREIGN,
\$7.50. PRINTED IN THE U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

THE CLIMAX of the Korean truce talks is here. Lesser subjects have been reconciled; now the inevitable point comes when the two sides must agree to recede from positions which they have repeatedly called irrevocable. We have taken this step. The UN now expressed willingness to modify its "immovable" stand against enemy airfield construction behind the front line. But the Communists decline to budge on prisoner exchange. Months ago this column called this the key obstacle to truce.

It is an agonizing problem and involves a moral issue. Of 12,000 UN prisoners in Communist hands, 3,200 are Americans, and we want them back at all costs. But of the horde of prisoners in our hands, some 10,000 Chinese and North Koreans don't want to go back: they face violence if they return, and we have promised them protection. The Communists say "no truce" unless all prisoners are returned. The precedents of war are against us. On the other hand, when prisoners were returned to Soviet Russia after the war, many were barbarously dealt with. Often they preferred suicide to return. Will we take responsibility for a new situation like that?

The Eisenhower-Dewey wing of the GOP is struggling to save the party from Taft-Hoover isolationism. Dewey gave important support to the move last week in a speech stressing the Communist danger in Asia. Its real significance lies in what it left out. Dewey omitted a postmortem on China; he hammered home to fellow-Republicans that the problem in the Far East is not in the past but here and now. For probably the first time in a Republican speech since China went Communist, Dewey made no reference to Chiang Kai-shek or Formosa. Dewey is trying to move his party up from 1945 to 1952.

For the past two weeks Chester

Bowles, New Deal ambassador to India, has pervaded Washington like a fog. It has been impossible to go anywhere—committee hearing, press luncheon, off-the-record gathering—without finding Bowles talking. He talks earnestly, simply, tirelessly, with an undercurrent of passion. His message is simple and tremendous: to hold India and Asia for democracy a plough is more important than a machine-gun.



Like the late Carter Glass, Bowles' face is slightly asymmetrical. Woodrow Wilson once listened with awe to brilliant, drawling Glass and exclaimed to friends later, "Think what that man would say if he used *both* sides of his mouth!" The deep compliment implicit in the remark is applicable to Bowles, too. If Ambassador Bowles could be multiplied by six, America's foreign prestige would be safe.

The fact is that India in 1952 is like China in 1945. Communism today is exerting all its blandishments on India and the Far East. It is a struggle between the Kremlin and Point Four, and the stakes are half the world. Meanwhile in Washington the most vulnerable point of political attack in Truman's \$85 billion budget is foreign aid. Will ploughs be scrapped for machine guns? America pumped \$2.5 billion into Chiang's armies—and lost China. The question is whether Congressional Republicans have really learned anything from the experience—whether they can turn their eyes from a dead China to a live India.

Arthur Schlesinger Jr. is young and looks younger. He must have trouble at Harvard (where he is a full professor at 34) persuading undergraduates before lectures that he is not a precocious high-school student on the scene by accident. Under similar circumstances Charles Evans Hughes raised a beard, but Schlesinger in a beard is hard to imagine. His

brilliant exposition of "The New Isolationism" at the Washington ADA dinner last week (an organization of which he is national vice-chairman) helped crystallize our thinking on the matter.

Isolationism, says Schlesinger, went underground. But the emotional core remains—fear and hatred of the foreigner. Now it is re-emerging in modern dress behind Messrs. Taft and MacArthur. Taft gives it a moral front: ostensibly he accepts present basic international policies, but always with nullifying reservations. MacArthur, like Taft, urges that the real danger is not abroad but at home. The New Isolationism preaches hatred of heavy taxation and inflation not so much for themselves but because they mean affirmative government direction and controls. The New Isolation promises the citizen the same results abroad at cut rates. But here a new factor enters. Cutting foreign aid is too patently a retreat from the global fight against Communism toward appeasement. The New Isolationism must somehow cover this up. That is where McCarthyism is essential. Witch-hunts and hysteria are required to distract attention from appeasement and gave the New Isolationism the proper emotional content. Eisenhower forces are gallantly trying to rescue the party from the New Isolationists.

Notes: Few experienced reporters think the Kefauver boomlet will get far but admit it's doing better than expected. . . . Rosier chances are attributed to the Adlai Stevenson boom, now riding a well-organized publicity drive . . . but friendly critics call Stevenson "too quiet and intellectual"; politics needs the dynamism of a Teddy Roosevelt, a Wilson, or an FDR. . . . Oddly enough, little Harry Truman has some of this when he cuts loose from prepared speeches on the stump. . . . Meanwhile the Taft-Ike feud is splitting the GOP. . . . Suez trouble may yet bring token US troops there as Churchill proposed. . . . Wonder how editor Kingsley Martin, who organized British peace-in-Korea mass meetings, would now feel if editor Colonel McCormick organized peace-in-Egypt drives?

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

long ago reconciled themselves to using or abusing all intellectual techniques in what they believe to be their sacred mission.

The *New Leader* crowd may perhaps be wakening some people by their shrill cries. But to most discriminating readers their voice is cacophonous and often almost incomprehensible. Those of us who feel under less compulsion to prate about our anti-Stalinism much prefer a more restrained approach to the problem of how to cope with Stalin. The *New Republic* has pretty consistently followed such a sane and anti-hysterical attitude. I sincerely hope that it will continue to do so, and to print political articles by Toynbee and others like him, who while appreciating the dimensions of our political struggle with Communism, can yet see that struggle in perspective.

It is only from such examinations that real new political leadership for our side can evolve.

New York City ROBERT GROSSMAN

The Millionaires' Amendment

● The Gallup Poll reports 59 percent of the public in favor of the 25-percent limit on federal income-tax collections.

Is there any hope for us, much less the remainder of the free world, when our electorate is so ignorant that they would have our multi-millionaires drive their limousines down to collect taxes from people who are hungry and ragged?

Oakland, Calif. E. L. CREEPY

Bevan and Taft

● In "The Obsolescence of Labels," (NR, Jan. 7) you say that Bevan and Taft join forces on central issues, because neither of them "believes that military might is the basis of Soviet power and threatens world peace."

In the first place, neither man says any such thing. Both say, not that Soviet military strength is not important, but that we have overestimated its importance. I really feel that you have most unfairly misrepresented the opinion of both of these men.

But I have a more serious complaint. You imply that because Bevan and Taft agree that we have overestimated the military threat, they agree what the threat is and how we should deal with it. If you believe this, you are badly informed; if you do not believe it, you should not imply it.

In this little controversy among Taft, Bevan and yourself, I think I side mostly

with Bevan. I believe that Russia's No. 1 weapon is not the Red Armed Forces, but a fact—that most of the world's people are poor, sick, starving, diseased, ignorant, debt-ridden, oppressed and *determined*—determined to do almost anything that might help to change their status. I think Bevan believes this. I'm sure Taft does not. It is, in itself, an important difference.

My great fear is that the US will not (though we could) give these people an answer to their problems; that they will increasingly turn to Communism; and that we, not Russia, will plunge the world into war to halt the process. I think this is Bevan's fear. I'm sure that it is not Taft's.

My great hope is that the US will begin to think more about men and less about bombs, and that we will spend, not .01 percent, but a respectable fraction, of the time, thought and money we spend on arms, in attempts to deal with the basic problems of the world's people. I vigorously deny that this view makes me or anyone else a Tory of the Left or anything else.

New York City JOHN C. HOLT

Senator from Formosa

● Henry Grady is quoted as saying recently that he would "be reluctant to oppose" Senator Knowland because he is "an able and dependable Senator." This must about make it unanimous with the Democratic and Independent voters in California, as they too are "reluctant" to have Grady run.

If there is one thing that we have learned in the last 20 years, it is that we cannot separate foreign policy and domestic policy. While the pleasant old doctor (over 70 isn't he) has been parading abroad for some time as a kind of "one-worlder," he is known at home (by those few of us that can remember him) as distinctly reactionary.

California ought to unseat the "Senator from Formosa," Mr. Knowland, but a tweedle-dum Grady can't do it. If he is foisted on the electorate by the vested interests, the people will lose again.

Why not let us draft a younger man of the calibre of tough-minded Dewey Anderson?

Of course Anderson doesn't have the bosses behind him, but if we local people joined now in an insistent demand that he should run, he would enter the race and make a real fight. In that way the people of California would have their own candidate of proved ability, and we couldn't lose.

MRS. L. D. MORRISON
San Francisco, Calif.



For the Sake of His Program and His Party . . .

President Truman Should Withdraw

ILLINOIS, Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin are important states in 1952. A brief trip, by the editor through these states reinforces the opinions we have expressed in recent weeks, and leads us to restate them as strongly as we can.

First, Harry Truman is a spent force politically. Even in 1948, Truman, laboring far behind local Democratic candidates, carried the states that brought him victory by the narrowest of margins. Today Truman's admirers privately concede that his most furious efforts will not re-create the sympathy for the underdog, the resentments against the 81st Congress, the admiration for a scrapper and the sense of complacency over good times that together set off the miracle of November 7, 1948. Those who live by his patronage may issue press releases in his praise. But they and those they are supposed to represent, know that he cannot win back the support he once enjoyed. Among Negroes alone there is a warm feeling for Truman. Among other groups including labor's rank and file (if not its leadership) a general consciousness of the gap between the job and the man has sunk too deep for Truman to recover. If Truman runs, he and all Democrats will be held to the defense of an administrative record that few are willing to defend. Hatred of his opponent, not faith in himself, is Truman's one real source of strength. Only against Taft can Truman win, and against Taft, he is the weakest candidate.

Second, Robert Taft is a strong force politically. The old guard is solidly behind him, and deeply entrenched. While his arrogance offends many voters, it convinces more that he has the will to win. In contrast the Eisenhower movement is insubstantial. Liberals and labor voters are swayed against him by his domestic views. Independents distrust any military man. Republican support of Eisenhower is strongest in big cities, but these cities are often Democratic, and suffer through the disproportionate representation held by rural districts in the party conventions. By returning to campaign, Eisenhower can break through. But today Taft is far ahead.

Third, if candidates are set aside, the Democratic Party is as strong as the Republican Party in the Republican Midwest. The Democratic Party is divided in every state; but where the division is not too deep, and control rests in liberal hands, it can win. Cynicism, caused by corruption and fear instilled by McCarthyism, has sapped the spirit of young Americans, particularly students. Yet except in Wisconsin, where McCarthyism has become a cult, the morale of liberals in the Democratic Party is high. More than anything else, the entry of Senator Kefauver into the Presidential primaries has dispelled apathy, and led voters to discuss candidates and therefore issues on their merits once more.

These three opinions lead to our conclusion: that for the good of his program and his party, President Truman should take himself out of the 1952 Presidential campaign. His indecision, so exasperating, is harming, not helping, his program in Congress and his prestige in the nation. If he believes that delay will help him hand-pick his successor, he should remember that only once since 1836 has a President succeeded in naming his successor in a party convention. Truman's indecision may provide material for newspaper gossip. But it is suppressing and separating all the nascent forces of hope that are struggling to form and to join together in support of a liberal and internationalist program in 1952.

Between now and April, one-half of our states will hold Presidential primaries. These are intended to be scenes for enlightening debate, not for the meaningless parades of favorite sons which short-sighted political maneuvering sets in motion. Once the President withdraws, the old leaven of democracy will start its work. The Presidential primary will again become the forum which its originators intended it to be. The courage of pioneers like Estes Kefauver will be recognized, and men such as Adlai Stevenson, who now are waiting for Truman's decision, will emerge as leaders of stature and brilliance, fully qualified to govern America and dedicated to carrying out all that is good and lasting in Truman's Fair Deal.

EGYPT FOR THE EGYPTIANS?

ONE OF THE bright moments in Shaw's *Caesar and Cleopatra*, recently performed on Broadway, occurs when Caesar (Sir Laurence Olivier) has rejected Egyptian demands for Roman evacuation, and, as he stands at a window, hears loud mob-shouts off-stage of "Egypt for the Egyptians!" Both in London and in New York, at this point, there was laughter from the audience. A neat historical parallel: yet it should be realized that for us today the parallel is not with the Roman occupation of Egypt but between the present anti-British riots in Egypt and those of 1900 when Shaw wrote his play and when the British occupation of Egypt—then of all Egypt—was some 20 years old.

In the half-century which has elapsed since then, the world has changed out of recognition. The fires which raged in Cairo when Egyptian mobs insensately attacked first foreign and then even Egyptian property are tragically no longer a subject for Shavian quips. Western relations with Egypt are today not only a British but also an American responsibility. It is a responsibility, a task of intervention, in which American opinion is bewildered. It is not difficult to see the transparent maneuvers by which King Farouk and the fast-living wealthy Egyptian cliques around him have tried to divert popular discontent against the foreigner—that is, against the British in the Suez Canal Zone. On the other hand, when Americans contemplate the successive British failures since the war to understand and evaluate national movements in Palestine, in Persia, in Egypt, it is hard not to feel that there are men at the Foreign Office who are still clinging to outdated imperialist notions which should be scrapped without delay.

What is of no advantage to the United States in this dilemma is to make some outright emotional decision—one way or the other. It is perfectly true that a revolution has been sweeping right across Asia: but it is important to realize that this revolution has assumed radically different shapes in China, in India or in the Arab Middle East. It would be wrong, for instance, merely to contrast superior American understanding of the Asian outlook with the alleged "colonialism" of British policy. Our experience in China alone should warn us against this. Indeed, Britain's success in granting self-government to India, Pakistan and Ceylon and establishing friendly relations with these vast countries within the framework of the British Commonwealth still remains the outstanding Western achievement in Asia.

But this achievement should be understood. Both the Indian nationalist and the British Labour leaders were influenced by the great tradition of British liberalism. In a broad sense, Cripps, Attlee, Mountbatten and Gandhi, Nehru and Jinnah all spoke the same language.

In the Middle East, this common tradition has been lacking. The British system in the Middle East, dating only from 1918 and resting on a number of rickety independent or semi-independent kingdoms, was a product of the British Tory outlook. It produced no equivalent to the British Indian Civil Service, so many of whose members had always been deeply pro-Indian. On the other hand, the Arab world has produced no liberal nationalist movements, no Gandhi or Nehru. In 1918, Arab society was sharply divided into a small ruling class of wealthy landlords, bankers and merchants, and a vast mass of illiterate and indebted peasants and workers. This contrast has hardly changed. No stable Arab middle-class has grown up. What is new is the emergence of an Arab intellectual proletariat, as class of small clerks and government officials, half-educated, underpaid, whose resentment against the "Old Gang" has been diverted into nationalist fury against the West. To Western eyes this Arab nationalism, whether represented by Mossadegh or Farouk, the crowds in Teheran or Cairo, may at times have seemed like a blind, fanatical force with which no negotiation was possible. Yet if anything is certain, it is that the future in the Middle East belongs not to the "Old Gang" of Pashas but to these same nationalists. The Western task at this moment is certainly not simply to give way, whatever the Arab nationalist demand. But what the West, and especially Britain and America, must do is to try to understand the mainsprings of Arab nationalism, to seek genuine contact with the Arab nationalist leaders, to speak to them in their own language, to work out the basis of some settlements. This is a task which has not been tackled yet, either by Britain or America or by the two powers together.

As for the immediate juncture, the American role has to be that of temporary mediation; to press for greater flexibility in British Middle East policy and to bring Arab demands into greater contact with realities. Grave though the situation remains, Premier Mossadegh's first hint of his readiness for new oil negotiations and King Farouk's appointment of a new Egyptian Government provide at least some slight ground for guarded optimism.

THE WEEK

ROBERT P. PATTERSON

Robert P. Patterson, who was killed in a plane accident at Elizabeth, N. J., on January 22, was a citizen of whom America had reason to be proud. A third-generation Yankee from upstate New York, he had the characteristics commonly (and not always justly) attributed to that breed—unfailing honesty, modesty so excessive that it often worried his friends, who were jealous on his behalf, utmost simplicity. His generosity of spirit was usually concealed from strangers by a simulated gruffness; his unfailing sense of humor hid beneath his imperturbable Yankee mask; his humility was such that he twice refused to become Dean of Harvard Law School, his alma mater, on the ground that he lacked the necessary qualities of scholarship.

Judge Patterson, as his friends had the habit of calling him, had served his country in three capacities, any one of which would have won him full honor: as a soldier in the First World War, in which he was awarded the Purple Heart, the Silver Star and the DSC; as a Judge on the bench of the US District Court and later the Circuit Court of Appeals; and as Assistant Secretary, Undersecretary and Secretary of War during and after the Second World War. In the last named post he worked harder than any other individual—including some who have received more credit—to bring about unification of the Armed Services.

It was characteristic of him that although a seat on the Supreme Court had been his legitimate and natural ambition for many years, when President Truman in 1945 offered him his choice of that or the place as Secretary of War, he replied only that he was prepared to serve wherever the President felt he was most needed; Truman put him in the War Department and gave him the DSM.

Patterson's support for a genuine political and economic union of the Western democracies showed a courage shared

by few men in public life, and indeed, this Republican who rose to high place in successive Democratic administrations was invariably careless of the political consequences of doing what he thought was right. In these days when timidity is common and the miasma of corruption has spread so far, we can less than ever spare a man like this.

THE FRENCH AND NORTH AFRICA

The bitter clashes in Tunisia and Morocco make clear that it is now France's turn to feel the fury of Arab nationalism. Gradually working westward from Iran and Egypt, the aggressive Islam independence movement is matching its strength in all of French North Africa. Two national groups—Istiqlal in Morocco and Neodostour in Tunisia—are spearheading a militant drive against the French and the local governments they support. The French military, after decades of putting down local uprisings, is likely to face "a new war," and French politicians seem not to have any formulas by which to ease the situation. They are all for encouraging gradual independence, but they and the large local French population say it cannot be given now.

The arguments of the average French resident in Morocco against Moroccan independence sound surprisingly similar to those raised by the American Southerner with regard to the Negro—but with an unusual twist. He condones the present inertia and attributes it to respect for inherent Arab customs and culture which his group has no "right" to change. But the French also cite Arab culture as one of the hindrances they must overcome in modernizing the country for independence.

The Moroccan complaints against the French sound like the basis for a human-rights covenant. They rightly complain of inequality of employment, opportunity and wages. It is an undisguised fact that Moroccans in their own country receive lower wages than Europeans for

the same job. Even charges of inequality under the law are listed by Istiqlal, though an unusual judicial system provides for separate French, Arab and Jewish courts to handle most law cases.

An additional complaint, not seen in the press but recurrent in private conversation, deals with the Moslem dislike of the protection afforded the Jews by the French. The Jews are a large minority in Morocco, trusting neither the French nor the Arabs, but nevertheless having an interest in the status quo which protects their liberties and rights to ownership.

Although the French have been largely responsible for the growing middle class in North Africa, the modern-minded Arabs have in large part been prevented from providing moderate leadership. The comment of one French-educated Moroccan Arab gives an interesting social sidelight:

At the university in France I learned the manner of European dress, to take a drink, to dance. If I follow these customs when I return home, I lose my Moslem friends and displease my family. At the same time the French will not accept me as an equal. Even if they did, they would not pay me the wages to live in their manner.

All admit progress would be hindered by a violent break. But men like Si Allal el Fassi, Istiqlal chief, don't think this price too high to pay for freedom. They are playing their cards shrewdly and ruthlessly. In the recent riots in Casablanca the Istiqlal mustered enough support to raise a disturbance which necessitated the calling out of Senegalese troops to assist the police. The final toll was 7 dead and 50 wounded (15 of them police) with 800 arrests. The rioting was adroitly scheduled to precede the Egyptian complaint before the United Nations concerning the alleged violations of human rights by the French administration in Morocco.

The French would like nothing better than to hold the Istiqlal up to the free world as a Communist-dominated organization. But so far as can be seen the

Communists are only as active in Istiqlal as in any other nationalist movement. And they are not the only source of dynamic leadership in the area. A well-planted rumor now growing in Morocco is that Egypt is planning to offer Abdel-Krim, former Riff leader rescued from exile by the Egyptians and now living in Cairo, as a possible unifier for the country. Krim is an old man, but his name still reminds many Moroccans of past days of glory.

What steps can be taken to save North Africa for democracy? The proposed joint assembly of French and Moroccan elected representatives now meeting separately is a step in the right direction. But something more forceful must be done. A Moroccan FEPC and a program of compulsory education, with a larger number of students entering foreign universities, are only a few of the steps France could take now.

The road, as seen from this side of the ocean, is clear-cut: the French must eventually leave, and Morocco must prepare herself for democratic independence. The French won't leave now, and the Moroccans haven't the tools for economic independence. American mediation seems the best immediate hope.

Casablanca

WILLIAM HADDAD

TIDELANDS COMPROMISE

The oil lobbyists are back in Washington—this time to see the tidelands oil bill safely through the Senate. Although the Supreme Court has twice ruled that the submerged oil lands alongside the coast of the US are not the exclusive property of Texas, California and Louisiana but belong to all 48 states, the Congress has been lobbied into rewriting the high court's decision. And although President Truman vetoed a tidelands disposal bill in 1946—and has said he will do so again—the House passed the special interest legislation last session and a Senate committee has just reported out a "compromise" bill which even the oil lobbyists find satisfactory.

For five and one-half months, the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee considered the House-passed "quit-claim" bill, introduced by Rep. Francis Walter (D, Pa.), which would nullify the Supreme Court ruling and hand Texas, California and Louisiana millions of dollars of resources, and a "compromise" measure, introduced by Sens. Joseph O'Mahoney (D, Wyo.) and Clinton Anderson (D, N.Mex.). The O'Mahoney-Anderson bill would allow the federal government to issue leases

to the tidelands for the next five years with the approval of each state involved. The states are given veto power on leases of the oil lands within the three-mile limit; beyond that point full control of the lands out to the Continental Shelf would be given to the federal government.

The Senate committee's hasty approval of the compromise was prompted by Sen. Tom Connally (D, Tex.), who introduced a resolution on January 14 to discharge the Interior Committee from further consideration of the tidelands question. Eight days after the Connally resolution was

introduced, the Committee reported out the compromise plan by a vote of nine to two, with Sens. James Murray (D, Mont.) and George Malone (R, Nev.) dissenting.

Sen. Russell Long (D, La.) has already indicated that the Senate could substitute complete state ownership and control when the measure gets to the floor.

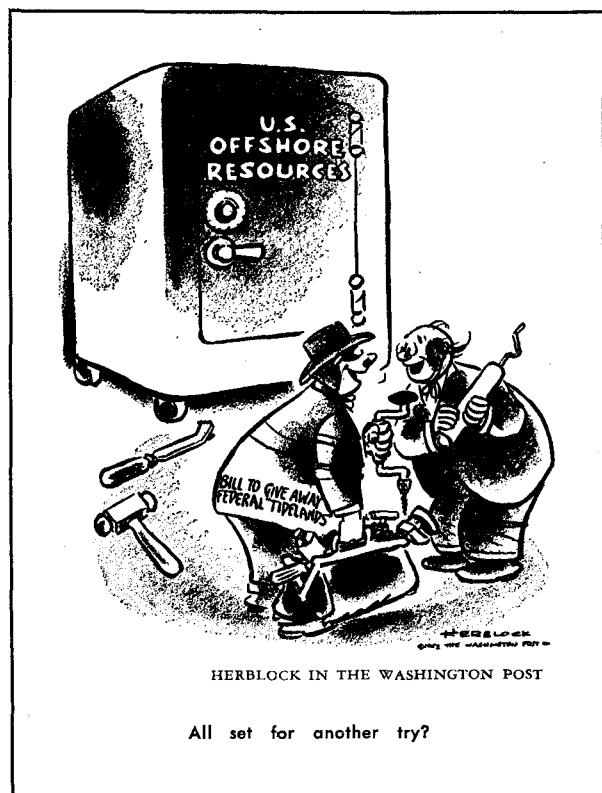
PROSPEROUS TEXTILES

The widely accepted belief that the profits of the nation's textile industry have reached lows comparable to its shrinking output has been labeled as fiction by the Textile Workers Union of America, CIO, presenting statistical evidence to block anticipated industry moves to institute wage cuts.

A new economic report, prepared under the direction of the union's research director Solomon Barkin and offered as "a basis for sound appraisal of the industry's policies," predicted 1951 profits probably will equal those of 1950, which were well over \$1.3 billion. Using official government statistics, the report concludes that increases for the first half of 1951 were 64.5 percent before taxes, and 30.2 percent after taxes, over 1950.

One section of the report, based on 1950 Securities and Exchange Commission estimates, declared that a typical textile executive received in two weeks as much as the average textile worker earned in wages for a full year's work. In reviewing SEC's top management lists for 64 textile firms, TWUA found that 38 of 258 executives for those firms received \$100,000 or more in 1950 with top compensation of \$328,210 going to Jacob W. Schwab, president of United Merchants and Manufacturers, Inc.

Illustrating the industry's profitability, the report pointed out the ratio of profits, before taxes, to net worth jumped from 12.5 percent in 1949 to 23 percent in 1950, concluding that "since net worth represents the value of the stockholders' equity in the industry, a return of 23 percent means that the 1950 rate of textile profits were sufficient to double the stockholders' investment in about four years."



All set for another try?

A UNION IN ST. LOUIS . . .

IN ITS 10 years of militant life, St. Louis' Local 688, first a part of the upsurging new CIO and now affiliated with the AFL Teamsters, has been a major focal point of alert and progressive trade unionism in the Midwest. In its organization procedures, its education and research programs, in its Labor Health Institute and its unrelenting opposition to race discrimination, Local 688 has served as a model, imitated but rarely matched, for other local unions over the country.

Now, in the field of political action, Local 688 and its 10,000 members—the largest such group in the state—are devising new and cautiously organized approaches to political activity which may well serve as guides to the twin giants, AFL's Labor's League for Political Education and CIO's Political Action Committee.

The new approach is simple and logical enough. Both PAC and LLPE have thought about it, talked about it, but have never actually set it into operation. It transfers the core of political activity from the union to the community where the members live. In effect, it takes labor out of exclusively labor politics, moving it to the community where the problems are more immediate and personal. In the community, the problems are of streetcar fares and service, of housing and playgrounds, of schools and garbage collections. Harold J. Gibbons, secretary-treasurer of the local, feels that this is an essential first step in developing political awareness on the part of union members:

A man who has never worked up a sweat over the Taft-Hartley Act as a political issue, becomes highly incensed because his garbage is not collected on time. A woman who has only a vague notion of the purpose of the Point Four program has very definite opinions of a transit company that operates a bus on her line only every 30 minutes. As politics are thus brought down to earth, made a part of the everyday life of the individual union member, greater political consciousness is developed. It is only one short step in the political awareness of the member from lower bus fares to lower taxes, from better trash collection to better labor legislation, from more street lights to more civil rights.

Local 688 has had political success in the past far beyond the highest hopes of most unions. Union officers estimate that of their rank-and-file members, more than 500 are politically active, about five percent of the total membership. For some years the union has maintained a systematic breakdown of membership into wards and precincts, and conducted voting registration drives among the unregistered members. In 1948, union officers engineered one of the most surprising political upsets in St. Louis' history in electing a rank-and-file member, Robert Pentland, to the state Senate from a strong Republican district over the combined opposition of the Republican Party, the CIO and the central body of the city AFL.

In 1950, Thomas Hennings opened his successful campaign

for the US Senate as a keynote speaker at a city-wide shop conference of Local 688. Today, Hennings gives the local much credit for the 60,000 vote margin he won in St. Louis.

These same 1950 Congressional elections, in many other sections of the country, spotlighted the alarming ineffectiveness of both the CIO-Political Action Committee and Labor's League for Political Education of the AFL. The failure to achieve heavy rank-and-file participation in the labor political program was too obvious to be denied. Yet at this date, only months away from the critical 1952 Presidential elections, neither the CIO nor the AFL political arms are offering any new approaches to increase their political punch.

But pugnacious Local 688 is now convinced that political action will be successful only through a high degree of rank-and-file participation. If eight hours a day are spent at work, 16 hours still remain to be spent in the community. The Community Action Committees which Local 688 has set up fill the same function as trade-union shop stewards. The members bring up their grievances. They are discussed and a plan of action worked out. In a series of such meetings held last November in every St. Louis ward each member was asked to fill out a questionnaire indicating the three most important problems in his community. The results are listed below:

<i>Major Community Problems</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Better Bus and Streetcar Service.....	67.1
Lower Bus and Streetcar Fares.....	62.8
Decent Low-Rent Housing.....	47.7
More Playgrounds for Children.....	17.3
Better Street Cleaning.....	16.1
Better Trash Collection.....	15.2
Better Police Protection.....	15.3

The November meetings were all well-attended, some wards listing 200 to 300 present. Continuation committees were named to carry on the activity.

The first application of this new-found political strength was in a fight against higher bus and streetcar fares and for better service, the major grievances listed in the questionnaire. On December 5, Local 688 was represented by 22 witnesses from 22 different wards of the city in aldermanic hearings, many making strong presentations. Five days later a smaller committee of the local traveled to Jefferson City to present 688's case before the Missouri Public Service Commission.

At a recent meeting the over-all Community Action Committee voted to set up an experimental office in one ward where the union has heavy membership to assist the members in filing income-tax returns. If this office is successful, it is planned that similar ones will be established in other wards.

According to Gibbons, "It is much too early to estimate accurately the long-range results of this experiment, but there are certain signs that lead one to believe that a start has been made toward a true, grass-roots political action program."

HARRY CONN

Outside America

EUROPE'S NEW NEUTRALISM

Marshal Stalin expressed the opinion to President Roosevelt at the very first of their meetings that Adolf Hitler could not possibly win the war because he had made a fatal mistake in judgment of the relations of power in the modern world. Hitler, said Stalin (according to Charles E. Bohlen who was there and heard him), had failed to see that no man on earth could successfully organize and wage war against a coalition of "armies" including those of the United States so long as the industrial-production potential of the United States remained substantially intact.

The development during 1951, which more than any other improved the West's relation of power to Stalin's East, was the industrial mobilization for rearmament of the United States. That is the position of strength which really counts, for the Kremlin's dialectically materialistic interpreters of history. If the danger of aggression against the European West is less now than last year, the reason is that Stalin knows how to interpret American production figures.

Many non-Marxist (and anti-Stalinist) Western Europeans also recognize, moreover, that if perhaps the most important of the secondary positions of strength—Western Europe's military organization—improved during the past year, the reason was less anything the Europeans themselves did than the fact that Charles E. Wilson's operations stood behind the efforts of General Eisenhower and W. Averell Harriman. If the Elbe and the Rhine are safer, it is because Europe's frontiers are in the world's powerhouse of production on both sides of the Mississippi.

The State Department denies vehemently that anything like a balance of power has yet been reached between the West and East. It was on this ground that Prime Minister Churchill was persuaded to put aside, at least

temporarily, his plan to meet Stalin personally. The official American position is that there will not be any dependable balance of power until a large, coherent, well-equipped and centrally directed Western European army (including Western German troops) is fully organized; that talks with the Soviets should not begin until then; and that, even then, all negotiations with the East should be carried out through the UN.

Officially, all the major Western European governments agree. Nevertheless, there are many influential leaders who do not, on any of the three points. And it is significant that some Americans in close contact with Europe tend to support the view that Western Europe, while part of the Atlantic Community, can make its best contribution by retaining some degree of autonomy between Washington and Moscow. They also feel that Washington's scale of values falsifies the true role of the Western European army; its real function, they believe, is more psychological and political than military. For example, Walter Lippmann writes in the New York *Herald-Tribune*:

Though no doubt they [ground armies on the European Continent] are a supplementary deterrent against invasion, their chief immediate purpose is in the broadest sense political—to provide the military power which is necessary to restore the stability, the self-respect, the dignity and authority, the diplomatic weight, the importance in world affairs of the Western European nations. . . . The European army is not in its essence a military project. It is a political, one might indeed say constitutional, project.

The range of European assent to such views would start with the Communists, who like the phrase about the end of the occupation, and continue with Gen. Charles de Gaulle's followers who equally like the notion of European armament as a politico-constitutional project. But it would not stop there.

The real problem is using rearmament as a means by which Europe, as a federal union or as a federation, may become what a Pope called Italy in the Middle Ages—"the needle of the balance of power." De Gaulle and nationalists like him in West Germany and

Italy are struggling not so much against unifying Western Europe as for capturing dominant roles for their countries. Hence they prefer a loose coalition, fearing that in a federal union they would lose their chance to dominate the newly sovereign combination of nations.

Even those moderate Europeans who see the need for a tighter system, with a greater fusion of nationalists or at least blurrings of national lines, are eager, moreover, to prevent the European identity from being obliterated by the Atlantic sharing.

A new kind of neutralism is emerging in Western Europe. Unlike the old, in that it is committed to active and close co-operation with America, it nevertheless strives to reduce the degree of American political dominance in NATO, and to favor negotiations outside the United Nations. André Fontaine has come out in the *Monde* of Paris in favor of bringing NATO and all its related agencies under the direct control of a tripartite political "directoriate" of the United States, the British Commonwealth and Western Europe (by which he of course means France). He says: "A firm and common position of Europe and the Commonwealth . . . could greatly influence American conduct."

And, not entirely surprisingly, it is the Vatican that has been coming out recently in favor of "neutral" negotiations between Washington and Moscow. The *Osservatore Romano* reprinted just before Christmas an article originally published October 17, 1948, arguing that the existence of the United Nations did not exclude or end "the function or mission of the neutrals." The new comment was that "with the consent and in the interest of the United Nations itself, such a function and mission of neutrality may be useful, at least *extrema ratio*. . . ." And between the lines of the Pope's Christmas speech there was a strong hint that the time has come for "Christian Europe" to appeal to the Vatican to do the moral equivalent of what Washington would not let Churchill really do.

Paris

PERCY WINNER

LOYALTY NEEDS BETTER FRIENDS

A LADY, almost blind, was working at a routine job in a government agency which had nothing to do with national security. She had taught herself, in spite of her handicap, to do her work efficiently. In due time, on the usual basis, she was investigated. It was discovered that many years before, while resident in France, she and her husband, since deceased, had entertained some radical politicians in their home, some of whom were friendly to the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

by A. Powell Davies

Upon being questioned, the lady not only admitted that the charge was correct but insisted that as a free American she had a perfect right to entertain whom she would. She enjoyed listening to conflicts of opinion and thought that, although truth was a hard thing to come by, discussion might sometimes lead to it. One of her examiners asked her what she thought about Russia. She said that she had never been there and was not entitled to an opinion. The examiner then inquired whether she had never read anything about Russia in the newspapers. She answered that she was blind and could not read the newspapers. He asked about the radio. She said she didn't listen to it much and in any case did not know what to believe and what to disbelieve.

Obviously, she was a difficult lady to interrogate. She did not hesitate to make it clear that she saw no sense in the procedure to which she was being subjected. But it was certainly evident—except to her slow-witted inquisitors—that she was incapable of conspiracy. And in any case, her work afforded her no opportunity whatever of activities which might be called subversive. Yet, she was dismissed.

This was so ridiculous that as soon as I had corroborated her story I made suggestions leading to prompt publicity, as a result of which the lady was reinstated. In how many cases, however, has similar injustice been done without a remedy being available? Let us note some sample questions which are asked in loyalty hearings: "Do you read a good many books?" "What newspapers do you buy or subscribe to?" "How do you explain the fact that you have an album of Paul Robeson records in your home?" "Do you ever entertain Negroes in your home?"

These questions are quoted from page 31 of Case No. 10382, decided by the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, and are cited

in the dissenting opinion of Judge Henry Edgerton. From the same source

I cite the fact that a woman employee of the government was under suspicion of disloyalty because, at the time of the siege of Stalingrad, she collected money for Russian war relief while at the same time she was collecting money for British and French relief. Still another employee, one who lost her job and appealed and lost the appeal, two to one, was asked with considerable persistence what her views were about the segregation of blood in blood banks.

I quote from this court record because it represents, on unassailable authority, the sort of thing that is told me, week by week, in my office. A great deal that is told me I cannot disclose without breach of confidence and the possibility that the individuals concerned might be identified. But I can safely report not only that government workers under investigation are being constrained into the most submissive and reactionary sorts of conformity but that many who are *not* being investigated ask my counsel as to whether they should continue to engage in interracial activities, or can safely receive into their homes at Christmas time a brother or sister who was once a member of Henry Wallace's Progressive Party. I have even been asked whether I think it prudent that a government worker should come to me, as a minister of religion, for advice, since something I might say at some time might be traced, correctly or falsely, to this particular individual.

What a commentary it is! An ugly, sinister and completely stupid process of intimidation is undermining the morale of completely loyal government workers, most of whom are afraid, not because they have ever had Communist leanings, or even radical associations, but because some one may accuse them out of personal malice and they will not even be told the name of their accuser or the details of the charge against them. Secret accusation and secret trial, and the building up of a bureaucracy of investigators who want to make a good showing—this is no longer merely disagreeable; it is very dangerous business. Secrecy itself is dangerous and should be reduced to the barest minimum. Government officials who are most concerned with classified material, when they tell the truth, freely admit that most of the secrecy is unnecessary. Even in the case of atomic matters, the Kremlin is likely to know, with the aid of its own scientists, far more than the American people know. But the fact is that a bureaucracy is being built up on secrecy, and

The Rev. A. Powell Davies is one of America's best-known preachers. He is the minister of All Souls' Church, Unitarian, in Washington.

it is from secrecy that it derives its importance. Moreover, the plague is spreading. Secrecy can be used to cover up blunders that the public should know about; secrecy can spread a cloak about malfeasance and corruption.

What is necessary is to light up all this darkness. The loyalty boards object when the nature of their procedure becomes known. Why do they object? Is it because the enemy may discover something to his advantage? Nothing of the kind! It is because the American people must not be allowed to know the truth! It must not be discovered that we have entrusted our loyalty investigations to mediocre minds with a blurred sense of justice and a heavy freight of prejudice. Race prejudice, for instance, can play an important part in deciding the attitude of a board member to the case he is investigating. All this could be ended, and it must be ended. There is a better way, a fairer, more intelligent, more decent, more American way. And if we do not find it, we shall lose before long a great deal of what we are defending in our struggle with the Communists.

Let me be well understood. I am not forgetting that we need protection against spies and traitors. Communism is a conspiracy and must be dealt with as such. For my own part, I spoke and wrote of the danger of Communist infiltration considerably before the government became concerned about it, and at a time when few believed the threat was serious.

What I thought then, I think now. I have been actively opposed to Communism all my life, and today I am more so than ever. But I am opposed to Communism because I love justice and liberty. For the same reason I am opposed to oppressive and unjust procedures when I find them in my own country. And at present, every week discloses to me new cases of these evils in the methods that are used in testing loyalty.

But now, I want to come to something far more difficult. I want to ask whether it is right or even wise that people who have once been Communists or Communist sympathizers should *in every case* be dismissed from government service. Are we to suppose that in other matters people can change their opinions but that in their views on Communism they remain the same forever? Are we to believe that people who were secretly attracted to the Communist Party but never joined it—perhaps because they lived in a place where there was no party activity—have a loyalty beyond “reasonable doubt” but that those who did join the party and then got out of it as soon as they discovered its true nature must be presumed to be potential traitors? Let me give some illustrations. For obvious reasons I have disguised the facts, but without affecting the substance or the emphasis.

Some while since, I was told that a young married couple were outside my office, earnestly asking that I interrupt my appointments and take time to see them. They were going to end their marriage then and there, they said, unless I could find a way to reconcile them. So I had them brought in.

This was their story. Both had been dismissed from work for the government. The young woman had joined the Communist Party in a foreign city at a time when it seemed to her to represent her youthful idealism. She believed that Communism was democratic, that it led to greater liberty than other systems, and that it served the welfare of the people. After her first week in the Party, she was visited by a Communist official who told her what friends she must drop and which acquaintances should be cultivated. She replied that she had no intention of letting the Party choose her friends. After a brief interchange which made clear to her the real nature of Communist methods, she resigned from the Party. She had been a member for exactly 10 days.

When she came to work for the government, years later, she was utterly opposed to Communism and regarded the foregoing incident as a minor escapade of her college days. But she had to answer an oath as to whether she had ever been a member of the Communist Party. Her conviction was that she never had; the Party she had briefly joined was not the Party she had intended to join, and as soon as she discovered this, she had got out. So she answered that she had never been a member of the Communist Party. I asked her whether she understood that she had made a false statement under oath. She vehemently denied that she had done anything of the kind. She had never *really* joined the Communist Party, and what the government wanted was the truth, wasn't it?

I asked her to go on with her story. The government had finally discovered that she had once been enrolled in the Party. Immediately, both she and her husband had been dismissed. Her husband felt that he was ruined and that because his wife had never told him that she had once joined the Party, she no longer deserved his confidence and he wanted the marriage to end. I spent some time talking with them. I could do nothing, of course, about their dismissal. But I was able to help them with their marriage, and, so far as I know, they are still together.

But I ask myself, what did the government gain by these dismissals? The young woman had committed perjury. It was a very damaging fact, and I tried to make her understand what it would necessarily mean to the government. Yet, her story was true. In her heart, she had never been a Communist. She was much more

of a person than her college friend who shared her views at the time but was too timid to join the Party. Moreover, she had had her fingers burned. She hated Communism. So did her husband. For such people, is there no way back? How different this case would have been if the young woman could have talked, when she applied for a government job, with someone with common sense and a rational method of inquiring into loyalty. How does it happen that the prominent Communist who recants becomes a sort of popular hero while a high-spirited young American woman with an adventurous mind is made an outcast because of a youthful misapprehension? Are people's convictions weaker because they have had to forge them out of experience? But let me tell another story.

A lady comes to my office. Her husband, she fears, is about to take his life. She tells me why she thinks so, and I am much alarmed. I go to see him. I find that many years ago, while working at a foreign university, this man attended a Communist discussion group. He did not join the Party—just listened to what he thought was "something different" and therefore interesting. When he returned to the United States, he was invited to another such discussion group, and although his interest was waning, he did attend a few meetings. Presently, he found himself hostile to Communism and fearful of where it might lead. In World War II, he served in the United States Army, with unusual credit. After the war, he entered the government service. His progress was rapid and his devotion to American interests beyond question. Then, suddenly, he is told that an accusation has been brought against him. Upon going over his past, he concludes that it must have been the discussion groups and tells his superior immediately. As it happens, this was not the charge, but it must now be entered. He is at once dismissed. He sees no future. He wants

his family to have the benefit of his life insurance. The reader would doubtless like to know how it turned out. So would I. The family left town, and I have no trace of them. But if the man killed himself by the method he described to me, there is very little chance that anyone, even including his wife, will know that it was suicide.

In what way was the security of the United States improved by the dismissal of this man—a highly intelligent, thoroughly loyal American, with a fine military record, serving his country with complete devotion? Less honest men, one must suppose, remain secure in their employment. Even grafters and bribe-takers are protected. But an unusually fine American, who was once curious about Communism and learned enough about it to be against it, is dismissed—because he had a bright mind instead of a dull one and wanted to discover what was what.

I protest that we are on the wrong track. Instead of increasing our national security we are diminishing it through putting a premium upon unintelligence. The fact is—and it is a terrifying fact to anyone with a sense of history—that loyalty in the United States has come to mean a lifeless, lusterless and spiritless conformity. To be loyal you must be commonplace and mediocre. You must prove that there is no "reasonable doubt" about you by seeming to be someone that a dull-witted member can easily understand, someone who does not frighten him by showing signs of possessing an active mind and a willingness to use it.

The present friends of loyalty, the professional ones, are unequal to their task. The whole basis is unintelligent. We need a better, fairer and wiser procedure, and brighter minds to manage it. How, in the present atmosphere of partizan frenzy, we are to make the necessary changes, I do not know. But this I know: loyalty in America needs better friends.

FIVE LONG YEARS OF LOYALTY

A TALL MAN with a granite face and an erect bearing touched off only by a slight stoop that bespeaks his 72 years, was seeing a visitor to the door of the respected Washington law firm of Davies, Richberg, Tydings, Beebe and Landa. He was Seth Richardson who, as chairman successively of the two main boards trying to gauge the political reliability of American citizens, has been Mr. Loyalty to official Washington since the program's inception in 1947. He had been discussing the road along which he had guided the soul-searching process for close to five

by **Arnold J. Heidenheimer**

years. For the most part he had been traveling up and down the various side-channels and byways.

Now at the last moment he seemed to find a focus. "You know what I did one Christmas," he said with a wry smile. "I told the Board: 'I'm going to give you all a dice-box, and you can throw dice. If they come out even, he's guilty, and if they're odd, he's not. You know, I think we'll do as well as we have been doing'."

The speaker is not a man inclined to make light statements. When President Truman turned to him in 1947

to head the then untried Loyalty Review Board which was placed at the pinnacle of the machinery to sift the political fitness of government employees, it seemed that he could not have chosen a more conservative or politically impregnable figure. A former Assistant Attorney General under Herbert Hoover, who had also held appointments under Harding and Coolidge, Richardson could not have had less contact with the New Deal or Democracy. His only public position between 1933 and 1947 had been as chief counsel to the Republican-dominated Congressional committee which investigated the Roosevelt Administration's responsibility in the Pearl Harbor attack.

For three and one-half years Richardson presided over the group of conservative lawyers, college presidents and businessmen who sit in panels of three to sift FBI reports, lower board decisions and the accused employee's testimony about his own loyalty. "Over and over and over," says he now, "the members said that this power we have is deadly, and we must be quite sure that we are right before we act."

But act they had to. The original premise on which their board had been created was that of cleaning government ranks of the politically suspect. Martin Dies, J. Parnell Thomas and the other hunters of un-Americans had for years been preaching the political contiguity of Communism and the New Deal. The Alger Hiss case served to affirm these charges in the public eye. And as the Board tried unsuccessfully to evolve new methods for searching men's minds, it could see the newspapers full of McCarthy's charges that Communists were still as numerous as ever in Washington. As the review cases piled up, the pressure increased. "There never was a minute," says Richardson, "when I was sure of everything I was doing."

"But the thing that has always sustained me in my mind," he says, "was that the calibre of the men was so superior." The Board is, in fact, a super blue-ribbon jury. Almost half its members have advanced degrees from Harvard or Yale; many represent outstanding Wall Street and Boston law firms. US Assistant Attorney General, municipal judge, head of the New York State Board of Law Examiners, vice-president of the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company, national commander of the American Legion, president of the American Association of University Women—these are some of the past and present posts held by the Board's 26 members.

Speaking of a particular Board panel of three men, Richardson said, "You couldn't get a court in the District of Columbia, including the Supreme Court, that was more capable than these men." They possessed training

and experience in both great quantity and quality. Richardson contrasted their ability to judge to that of a jury in a local court: "Now if you went before a jury, you'd have a mixed group of inexperienced men and women, much short of the calibre of the Board members."

Little as he thinks of the democratic jury system in difficult cases of evaluation, Richardson thinks even less of the legalist's claim to be an ideal adjudicator. "I've been a lawyer for 50 years and I don't know what 'reasonable doubt' is, and I don't think anyone else knows." He was referring to a change in the wording of the loyalty regulations which the Board, under his successor ex-Sen. Hiram Bingham (R, Conn.) voted into effect, with subsequent Presidential approval, early last year. The change allegedly still binds the Board to find specific "reasonable grounds" in the employee's background, but at the same time allows it to use its own discretion in evaluating "reasonable doubt." Richardson does not fully share Chairman Bingham's belief that the rule makes the Board's work easier by requiring less specific proof.

"I don't think it makes any difference," he says, "at least it wouldn't have to me. The men are going to fire somebody if they think he should be kicked out, and when they feel that way, they call it 'reasonable doubt'."

Tough words, but that's the way the machinery works. Probably most Board members personally share Richardson's mixed feelings. "I regret the destruction of any government employee. It's a terrible penalty to be called disloyal. That's why the Board has leaned back in the way it has. If we'd been careless about employee rights, we could have found a great many cases and railroaded them out of the government."

However, outside its own ranks the Board's apparent leanings have aroused bitter controversy. There are many who attest to its judicious use of power. But there are also crucial witnesses who have other stories to tell. Defendants, attempting to cope with Board members' lines of questioning have found themselves pressed to disavow expressions of political thought which were taken over practically verbatim from Justice Holmes. Some even cruder leanings on the part of some Board members, were suggested in parts of a Board meeting transcript released recently by Sen. Joe McCarthy.

In it, Garrett Hoag, a Boston lawyer, was quoted as saying: "I have been disturbed about the State Department—their remarkable record of never having fired anybody for disloyalty—and yet we do nothing about it as far as the Board is concerned." Elsewhere during the meeting, whose minutes McCarthy got through underground channels, members commented unfavorably on the State Department's poor showing on loyalty firings compared to other departments, which had fired an

average of six percent of those accused of disloyal background. To many, this seemed to indicate a Board "leaning" toward dangerous mathematical uniformity.

What did Richardson think of this? Well, the trouble was largely one of words. The State Department has simply done its quota of firings on "security" rather than "loyalty" grounds. For the purpose of getting people fired, this process is more expeditious, since it does not require review by the top Board.

"You know," said Richardson, "the State Department is the first department in the government. When Truman walked up to Congress the other day Acheson was there next to him. . . . Well, I always felt that they felt chagrined that anybody else—especially just a board in the Civil Service Commission—should have the power to check up on State. They always seemed to say: 'You let us run the State Department'."

In addition, of course, State had its own distinct problems, besides the obvious political ones. "If the Justice Department hires a lawyer and he's a boy from Davenport, Iowa, it's easy to tell where and if he's gone wrong. But the State Department has to have people with lots of contact with foreigners, people who know the spot, and maybe you don't want them to be too pure."

In such cases, what does the Board rely on? Mainly the FBI reports, in which informant T-6 or S-54 charges that the employee attended Communist meetings in 1935 or was active in the "inner circle" of a front group in 1943. The defendant is not told from whom the charges come, and his lawyers cannot cross-examine the prosecution witnesses.

Not even the Board knows who T-6 or S-54 are. When during Dorothy Bailey's hearing her lawyers requested more information about the person who made the accusing remarks, Richardson had said: "I can only say to you that five or six of the reports come from informants certified to us by the Federal Bureau of Investigation as experienced and entirely reliable. . . . I haven't the slightest idea as to who they were. . . ."

The anonymity of the accusers is insisted on by the FBI, which says that to reveal their agents' or informants' identity would permanently ruin their usefulness. Richardson had accepted the FBI argument. Not only did he uphold the informant's anonymity *vis-à-vis* the defendant's lawyer, but he himself refused to be told who T-6 or S-54 were.

But how did Richardson feel about the leak that had allowed McCarthy to spread the Board's secret minutes around town? "The man who let them out was a thief. Stealing papers is just like stealing money, maybe worse. There's absolutely no excuse for it." He had recognized when he was chairman that the Board's proceedings had

to be kept above the political conflicts which swirled about it. Absolute security had proved impossible with 26 members, each of whom was responsible really only to himself. The only recourse, he had found, was to put next to nothing in the minutes.

"Whenever we could just put very general things in the minutes, like 'so-and-so discussed the political background of the employee', things that wouldn't be of much political use." The transcript that McCarthy had obtained probably was a case in which "there was too much in the minutes." At any rate he thought the Board would live through it.

Richardson himself is very glad to be rid of it all. As it was, he stayed much longer than he expected when he took the job in 1947. He took leave from his firm for only six months, but stayed three and one-half years as head of the Review Board. Then came the McCarran Act, and the creation of yet another tribunal—the Subversive Activities Control Board, which is supposed to judge private organizations and individuals much as the Review Board attempted to judge government employees.

"Well, then, they wanted me to get the McCarran Act going," reminisces the stern old man. He had consented and President Truman had appointed him to head up the SACB. But when his nomination came up to the Senate for confirmation, Senator McCarran's Judiciary Committee proved more than indifferent. For months, the Richardson nomination hung fire. McCarran never said that he considered this life-long Republican a bad security risk, but he just didn't think he was fit for the job. After all, he told his fellow committee members, hadn't Richardson presided over the Board that had cleared William Remington? And besides, wasn't he a law-partner of Joseph Davies, the hero of *Mission to Moscow*?

"Yes, that's when they said I couldn't be trusted," says Richardson wryly. "Because Joe Davies is my partner. They didn't say that Donald Richberg who helped write the [McCarran] law is also in the firm." Just about that time another tall, distinguished man walked into the room and began to talk into the phone in a slow Southern drawl which was in sharp contrast to Richardson's clear, precise speech. He was a son-in-law of Joe Davies, Millard Tydings by name. He, too, had recently returned to private practice.



SETH RICHARDSON

DETROIT: GHOST ARSENAL?

DETROIT IS A sick city. And treatment for the sickness isn't covered by the Blue Cross contracts which protect nearly a million workers in the greater Detroit area. The city which in World War II inundated the Axis with its military output is today pocked with idle shops, idle machines, idle workers. The waste spreads with malignant speed. This week there are more than 145,000 unemployed auto workers in Michigan; next week the number may reach 155,000. By summer, depending on what the National Production Authority does about second-quarter allocations of strategic metals, the line of jobless may stretch to 200,000 or 300,000 workers.

Much of the unemployment has depth reaching back into the late spring of 1950. Many workers have already exhausted the state's niggardly unemployment-compensation benefits, and the proportion of jobless who will be thrown entirely on welfare may be staggering by late spring. Already stories of family tragedy such as this (Detroit Free Press, Jan. 14, 1952) begin to pebble the back pages of the dailies:

"Suicide Blamed on Unemployment"

Unemployment in the auto industry was blamed for a Detroit suicide Sunday night. Michael Kacsibar, 51, of 3106 Eastlawn, was found dead in the basement of his home by his wife Mary, 44, and son Steve, 18. He was shot through the head. Police said Kacsibar left a note saying he was despondent over being out of work at an auto plant for several weeks.

A heavy uneasiness is audible in the utterances of editors, city and state officials, employers—as though the ravening face of 1932 had suddenly intruded in their dreams and would not be blinked away in daylight. When, on Christmas Eve, the city offered a handful of snow-shoveling jobs to casual workers and 3,500 men stormed the hiring office with squads of extra police being called in to push them back, the nightmare took on substance. Even the heaviest sleepers in the business-as-usual fraternity were suddenly awake and scared.

There had been ample warning for those who would listen. Few would. For six years Apollo's curse lay on Walter Reuther's prophecy that unless production of strategic metals was increased, the national economy would be put into immediate jeopardy by even a partial mobilization. The efforts of the United Auto Workers, CIO, to get action to break the chronic steel and related

by Guy Nunn

metals bottlenecks and to maintain defense plants from the last war in tooled-up, stand-by condition make up the best-documented record of unavailing Cassandraizing of the past generation.

Finally, when Korea took fire and the President issued his partial mobilization order, Reuther asked the heads of all automobile manufacturing firms to meet with the UAW to explore ways of minimizing the impact of impending rearmament on auto-industry employment. He cited the stringency in steel as obvious proof that the industry was in for a bad time without some planning. The brush-off, although ranging from polite to snide in temper, was virtually unanimous.

In November, 1950, came the first announcements of heavy materials cutbacks. Through vigorous intervention in Washington the UAW managed to soften their application but still the car manufacturers sat on their heels. Why men normally so alert to change as the auto industrialists should have slept so soundly through nearly six months of menacing rumble by the NPA is still something of a mystery. A plausible explanation would appear to be that they were narcotized by the hope that the mobilization program would move along far more slowly than Mobilizer Charles E. Wilson's rather flamboyant projections claimed it would, and that somehow, despite every statistical indication to the contrary, they could continue to eat the cake of normal civilian production—and have a piece of the defense program, too.

This illusion may have been heightened by the early ease with which the industry acquired its first defense contracts—thickly gravied with rapid tax-amortization permits on new plants, and with civilian cutbacks only a distant speck on the horizon. In any event, the industry refused to convert any but the tiniest fraction of its existing capacity to defense production and chose instead to construct or acquire new plants elsewhere in which to exercise its high dividend patriotism. Chrysler went to New Orleans and Newark, Delaware; Ford tore down Detroit aircraft-engine capacity to tool up in Chicago. And in Detroit, the stick-ups and the suicides of desperation multiplied.

A recent published estimate of current idle capacity in American industry places it at greater than over-all activated Soviet military capacity. This might be shrugged off as a mere statistical curiosity if the waste were not so heavily concentrated. In the last war, the auto industry and its subsidiaries produced close to 40 percent of the

Guy Nunn is a political commentator on radio and television in Detroit.

nation's military hardware. Today, nearly 40 percent of the industry's capacity is unused or under-exploited. Despite this, the Defense Production Authority announced on January 14 that new plant construction in the amount of nearly \$12 billion has been blessed with quick tax write-off authorization. New plants and their approaches devour critically scarce materials. They also devour the livelihoods of men thrown out of work by reduced allocations.

DPA Director Manly Fleischmann's recent acknowledgement of the plight of the auto workers had all the iron of a dictum by Goering. "We do not believe," he told the House-Senate "watchdog" committee on defense production January 9, "that mobilization goals can be achieved if allocation policies are based in large measure on employment factors. It is my conviction that basic allocation policies must be based almost entirely on the factor of essentiality to the mobilization effort."

Doubtless Mr. Fleischmann now regrets his somewhat brutal phrasing of policy, but offensive as it was to the unemployed workers of New York and New England (of whom there are currently half a million or more, largely from non-convertible civilian industries), it rang in Detroit like idiot laughter.

In recent days the auto industry has begun dimly to perceive the realities of the mobilization situation, but only dimly. Having fouled its own nest through its refusal to convert (and a well-upholstered nest it was, feathered in fiscal 1950 with a 17-percent rate of return, after taxes, for its weakest company, and 34 percent for its strongest), it still clings to the hope that a show of bad temper in the capital will scare materials quotas back to "normal." That hope was the death of Michael Kacsibar, and it will be the death of others like him if it is not abandoned. While there is assuredly a measure of "give" in the present allocations of copper, aluminum and steel to automobile production, it cannot by any stretch of NPA's questionable compassion be sufficient to take up Michigan's huge slack in capacity. Ford, among others, has been attempting to blunt a sharpening public censure of the company's refusal to take on defense work in its existing plants by combining bluster about Washington ineptitude with rosy releases concerning projected employment once certain of its fetal facilities are built and tooled up. Jobs two years hence may seem adequate "human engineering" to young Henry Ford's kept adulators, but their only visible virtue to 20,000 idle Rouge workers is that the wages on them can't be garnisheed.

Hundreds of Detroit's smaller companies, it is true, have tried diligently—even desperately—to shift to defense production. They've had to. With them, it has

been convert or die. But distant placement of the larger military contracts of the giants has robbed the parts plants of their natural source of subcontracts. Many, snatch-bidding at any crumb of their size which procurement might dangle, have lost out with infuriating regularity to new low-wage competitors enjoying low-tax Southern comfort. Persistent efforts by the UAW leadership to persuade the procurement agencies to siphon war work into the area through *negotiated* contracts (under the Comptroller General's ruling, to take only one of many official policy statements, that such contracts are entirely permissible as small-business preservatives) have until the present failed to dampen the ardor of the Munitions Board for the purely competitive bid.

[As we go to press, two new developments have taken place:

1. Defense Mobilizer Charles Wilson announced the establishment of a task force to survey defense contracts and to pump defense work into areas suffering from unemployment. Detroit was listed as a top priority city for such contracts.

2. It was anticipated that the Moody-Dingell Unemployment Compensation Bill, providing for up to 40 hours' take-home pay through federal supplementation of state programs, would be introduced into Congress with strong support.]

Should the Auto Workers finally succeed in forcing negotiated contracts into commoner practice, the first effective brake against the downhill rush of Detroit production will have been applied. If negotiated relief does arrive, as everyone from Wilson on down now swears it will, it will offer an interesting spectacle: the UAW, the hunted of yesteryear, rescuing the hunter.

Detroit is a sick city. There are those who fear—and Michigan's Governor "Soapy" Williams is among them—that the major auto companies, inspired by bargain-basement acquisition of new capacity, intend greatly to accelerate their long-term decentralization plans and shift large hunks of civilian production away from Michigan as quickly as something like normal activity has been restored. Whatever the ultimate intentions of the Big Three (who expose their blueprints to no outsiders), fresh "runaways" among the smaller companies are reported every month. And while there is no low-wage cranny in which any corporation above minnow-size can for long escape the UAW's organizing staff, every runaway leaves behind its core of stranded workers. Unemployment due to this cause has until now made up only a minor fraction of Michigan's quarter-million jobless, but there are serious signs that it will continue as a constant erosion of job stability whatever may happen in the area of defense conversion.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

CHINESE RELIGION AND THE NATURE OF MAN

MAX WEBER'S *The Religion of China* (actually only Confucianism and Taoism are discussed at length) is one section of his monumental *Collected Essays in the Sociology of Religion*. The more famous *Protestant Ethics and the Rise of Capitalism* has already appeared in English. While this volume hardly compares in stature to *Protestant Ethics*,

THE RELIGION OF CHINA: CONFUCIANISM AND TAOISM, by Max Weber. Translated and edited by Hans Gerth (Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press; \$4.50).

it nevertheless forms a vital link in Weber's over-all structure. If the former work is aimed at demonstrating the positive relationship between a certain religious view and a certain "economic mentality," the volumes on non-Western cultures explore the failure of this mentality to emerge where other views have prevailed. Here, too, the central problem is the relationship among religion, social attitudes and social structures. In presenting us with this readable translation, Hans Gerth has performed a notable service to the non-German-reading public.

While the reviewer does not regard himself as a specialist on all the areas touched by this book, it is perhaps his academic duty to begin by considering it specifically as a study of China. As such, *The Religion of China* must be handled with great caution. To this day, Chinese studies remain an ocean of unsolved problems of a purely factual nature. The answers to some questions still lie buried in Chinese encyclopedias and little pamphlets. Others may be unanswerable because the Chinese record was not interested in asking them. And while Weber makes a remarkable use of the best Western sources available to him, many of his speculations, in so far as they involve matters of fact, must be considered highly tentative. At some points he makes simple declarative

by Benjamin Schwartz

statements on questions which are still the subject of heated controversy. One could quarrel at length with such judgments as the following: that Chu Hsi was "a materialist and atheist"; that Confucianism was not "anti-chrematistic"; that Lao Tze accepted the view that the goodness of man depended upon the quality of the ruler, etc.

One of the worst defects of a book which, in spite of its title, deals with Chinese society as a whole, is the slight treatment of Chinese Buddhism. The ages of high Buddhism in China often prove the acid test for all facile generalizations concerning Chinese society and culture. They were, after all, so "un-Chinese." Thus, it was during the age of Buddhism that large sections of the bureaucratic class neglected their "class ideology" and looked to Buddhism for spiritual sustenance. In so far as Weber does treat Chinese Buddhism at all, his work is extraordinarily poor. Such statements as "Buddhism was imported from India as a means of gaining convenient, literate administrative forces and as a means of taming the masses," and "The a-literate character of reformed Buddhism [Mahayana Buddhism] . . . made it a favorite faith of the harem" (this a-literate form of Buddhism developed some of the subtlest systems of metaphysics the world has known), mark the nadir of Weber's scholarship.

It is therefore unfortunate that Gerth has failed to bring to the attention of the reader Weber's statement in the introduction to *Protestant Ethics* concerning "the definitely provisional character of these studies and especially of the parts dealing with Asia." One hardly comes away from the present book with a sense of the provisional nature of many of its statements. This bold insouciance may represent Weber's justified reaction against the sterile "higher

scholarship" of his time. Because of his prestige, however, the lay reader may well gather from the book presumptions of definite knowledge about matters which still lie in the area of pure assumption.

It should immediately be added that *The Religion of China* remains one of the most suggestive studies that have appeared on the subject. To balance the rashness of statement there are passages full of the rarest insight which, in their sense of life, seem to penetrate closer to the heart of the matter than reams of textual criticism. There are many brilliant pages such as those comparing the Confucian and Puritan views of life, those discussing the position of the city in China, those on the peculiar flavor of Taoist mysticism, etc.

In sum, as a specific study of China, the book has its merits and demerits. As Weber himself anticipated, subsequent scholarship has already superseded many of its individual judgments. The book has, however, another value transcending its status as a scholarly study. It is one more illustration of Weber's approach to the study of man. In the reviewer's opinion it is an approach that still merits close study, particularly in American academic circles. For, while Weber was in many ways a man of his time and place, he was also one of the great gropers, restlessly reaching beyond his time. Living in an age when the study of man had come to be dominated by the builders of grandiose closed sociological systems on the one hand, and devotees of an atomic higher scholarship on the other, he was seeking a more concrete grasp of human existence. By his training as a sociologist and by his knowledge of history he was probably as well equipped as any man to construct an imposing sociological system from the heights of which he could look down on the vagaries of his fellow creatures. Instead, he re-

nounced the system in favor of a richer comprehension of the complexities of human life.

It is not simply that Weber had a multi-causal view of reality. This might have led only to a pale eclecticism. It is rather that he reacted against the tendency of his time to cut man into a series of segments to be filed on different abstract shelves. "Social relations" were assigned to an autonomous sphere called the "social system"; ideas were assigned to an autonomous sphere known as "ideology." These spheres then interacted somewhere out in limbo. Weber is always aware that social relations, images of the universe and values all contend with one another in the same living unity of man. On the other hand, he escapes from the concept of "culture" as a rigid organism in which all the elements are inexorably fixed in the whole. To Weber, the same elements are likely to appear in any number of cultures within any number of different combinations. His favorite category, the "ideal type," cuts across the conventional divisions of sociology, social psychology and intellectual history and, to that extent, draws closer to the realities of human life.

Sociologists tend, of course, to reject interest in questions of "human nature." In this, Weber, who to the end regarded himself as a scientific sociologist, is no exception. The fact remains, however, that concepts of human nature underpin sociological construction. Every sociological system has at its base certain conceptions of the "needs and frustrations" of man. And as it happens, the concept of man which emerges from Weber's discussions is infinitely richer and more sensitive to the ironic and tragic ways in which views of reality, human aspirations and power interests mix and clash, than many offered by contemporary sociologists still operating with the eighteenth-century conception of man. There is an approach here toward a new and richer anthropology (in the wider sense) that gives Weber's works a value far transcending their individual scholarly contribution.

Benjamin Schwartz, assistant professor of History at Harvard University, is the author of *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao*.

EVIDENCE OF GREATNESS

THE SELECTED LETTERS OF HENRY ADAMS. Edited with an Introduction by Newton Arvin (Farrar, Straus & Young; \$3.50).

ANYONE who has read Henry Adams' *Education* and *Mont-Saint-Michel* with a feeling of disappointment about the absence of any serious philosophic insight must read his letters to see evidence of his greatness. In this selection and in his splendid introduction Newton Arvin has done Adams the service of admitting his limitations in order to emphasize his powers. Arvin's view is that "If one sets aside the *History [of the United States of America in the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison]* it is in his letters that Henry Adams realized himself most completely, with the least uncertainty and unnaturalness, as a writer." This Arvin supports not only by laying before us impressive examples of Adams' power as a letter-writer, but also by proposing an ingenious and plausible theory of his shortcomings as a writer of books. He reminds us of the private publication of the *Education* and the *Mont-Saint-Michel*, the "mystifications," "the jittery precautions" and the "elaborate disparagements" with which Adams wrapped these works. He also reminds us that one novel (*Democracy*) was published anonymously and the other (*Esther*) pseudonymously. This anxiety about authorship Arvin links with Adams' inability to commit himself confidently to his fiction, his autobiography and his esthetic, and ultimately with the failure of all three. All of this I find extremely illuminating because I have never been able to take Adams seriously as a thinker.

According to Arvin, Adams' virtues are best expressed in his letters because they provided him with a friendly, receptive audience, which he rewarded with a series of brilliant reports from Washington, Europe, Japan and the South Seas. Here he is social historian, political reporter, literary portraitist and, at times, just a nasty, clever man. I think his description of Robert Louis Stevenson is magnificent and that his Samoan letters are the best in the book.

I find the overcast quality of some of the others moving, but there are some that are depressing in an uninteresting way. It is astonishing how oracular his pessimism can be when he talks about the social impact of science and the future division of the world between Russia and the United States. I see no reason why Henry Adams shouldn't be reviewed by those who spend their time reviving the dark philosophers and rediscovering evil.

MORTON WHITE

THE NATURE OF POETRY

THE NECESSARY ANGEL, by Wallace Stevens (Knopf; \$3).

THE ANGEL that presides over this collection of essays and addresses is the angel of reality. Perhaps this will surprise some readers already acquainted with Wallace Stevens' opulent, often difficult poems, disciplined (in his own phrase) to "resist the intelligence almost successfully." Certainly it should disturb anyone who interprets his work via Yvor Winters' impressive essay in *The Anatomy of Nonsense*, wherein the whole apparatus of English poetry since Pope rumbles through two centuries into its simultaneous culmination and decay in the figure of Wallace Stevens, the bankrupt hedonist. Such interpreters may have to amend their ideas.

The seven papers assembled here are mostly occasional pieces, composed to be understood at a hearing. For this reason they are a body of notes rather than a systematic *ars poetica*. Nevertheless, they include some of the most incisive and useful insights into the nature of poetry given us by a modern master. Many of these cluster about Stevens' persistent, possibly central theme: the dilemma of the active imagination in a world drained of myth which the poet can elaborate. This provides the focus for his attitudes, the impulse for his Jacob-like wrestlings with the earthly angel; even his mode of prose discourse relies on the tactics of the imagination—quizzical, discursive, forever revolving the subject at hand to release fresh aspects of its truth.

To state summarily the main theme and method of the book is scarcely to exhaust its richness. It abounds in felicitous expression and in wit, the product of Stevens' elegant irony. For example, this parenthetical reflection on current writing: "Democritus plucked his eye out because he could not look at a woman without thinking of her as a woman. If he had read a few of our novels he would have torn himself to pieces."

The most welcome attribute of the book, however, is its humane good sense, equally manifest whether Stevens is discussing a desolate Pennsylvania churchyard, Plato's images or the personalities of those who prefer "a drizzle in Venice to a hard rain in Hartford." I believe it is now possible to see, as it was not when Winters wrote his essay, that Stevens' poetic tendency has always been from what he terms the hieratic to the credible, and even beyond this toward, in some measure, the imaginative regeneration of the life of his times. In that sense, his commitment as revealed in this book is deeply in the real world, and his elegance itself is the victory.

ROLF FJELDE

Rolf Fjelde was founding editor of the Yale Poetry Review and is at present editor of Poetry New York.

THE NEGRO PERSONALITY

THE MARK OF OPPRESSION, by Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey (Norton; \$5).

Is THE association of Negro personality with hot jazz more valid than its association with the blues? Is there any real connection? Is it possible to sum up the personalities of 14 million people into one basic personality pattern, and if so, how is the total arrived at? Drs. Kardiner and Ovesey, practising psychoanalysts, think they know the answer, and in *The Mark of Oppression* show us how they attained it.

To the available statistical studies, historical research and other measurable data, the doctors have added the tools of psychodynamics: the psychoanalytic interview and the projective techniques—Rorschach and the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). The heart of the

study is a summary of the psychoanalytic interviews with the 25 subjects used by the authors and their assistants. We are faced with the immediate objection that the study of the basic personality of 14 million people is being derived from a consideration of the personalities of only 25 Harlem Negroes, about half of whom are being paid for having their brains picked. Nor do the doctors even mention the pertinent fact that the subjects, paid or otherwise, are expressing themselves to a white man. Each paid subject is given 20 interviews and then dismissed.

Twenty interviews are hardly sufficient to crack the racial antagonism—especially in the case of the naïve subject who feels he is being bought and therefore ought to perform. Thus in the matter of sampling and structure, the experimental design is hopelessly inadequate. Approximately 10 TATs were given; the results are not stated but only referred to in passing. The Rorschach Test, as used, incredibly totals the responses for 24 of the 25 subjects and then draws conclusions from the new figure. The interpretation of these records also neglects to consider that in such a test of perception the Negro's responses to shaded areas or to color blots are likely to be influenced by the strong emotional reaction he has to hue, light and dark, black and white. If all Negroes respond to chiaroscuro, perhaps it is not because they are all anxious (amazing homogeneity), but because they are all highly sensitive to light and dark.

Thus, in their own field, in the use of psychodynamic tools, where we might have expected the greatest exactitude, scientific rigor and new insights, Kardiner and Ovesey disappoint us. The picture is no less distressing in the sociological, anthropological and historical sections. As for sociological methodology, the authors frankly state:

We are fully cognizant of the loose and unsettled connotation of such terms as upper, middle, and lower class. However, since these terms are used both in common parlance and in sociological treatises, we do not feel it is incumbent upon us to invent a new classification.

With regard to anthropological theory the authors accept Kardiner's concept that a basic personality exists, but do not explain upon what evidence they reach this conclusion with respect to Negroes living all over the United States in diverse socio-economic classifications and with only the fact of varying degrees of discrimination to bind them. Perhaps it is possible with as simple and homogeneous a society as the Tanala or the Comanche to arrive at a concept of basic personality, but it still remains to be shown how this approach can be fruitful in a society as complex as ours.

In addition, the book is saddled with two types of baggage that the liberal imagination delights in carrying: the crude Freudian and the crude "progressive." On the one hand we find the statement, "The Western custom of beating on the buttocks probably originates in sphincter control," and on the other, the belief that the Negro who adjusts to prejudice and makes the best of his life is the *bad* Negro, the slave, the Uncle Tom, while the Negro who is miserable and suffers, but makes no adequate adjustment is a *better* person, more deserving. Finally, the doctors, like some psychoanalysts and authors, have not limited their scope; they give us dosages on the nature of political ideology and the mechanism of choice, or on the nature of popular culture in America—all on the same level as the origin of beating on the buttocks. For this the doctors themselves should be spanked.

Despite these findings, Kardiner and Ovesey have presented a sympathetic account of some of the effects of discrimination as revealed by the interviews: anxiety, low affectivity, self-hatred, depression. These are well documented, and a reading of the case histories is moving. It is a pity that the insights into such matters as the role of the absent father and the working mother, a new variation on the Oedipal pattern, are not presented in greater detail. It is also a pity that, while posing as scientists investigating a human problem, the authors have let their own sympathies run away with them. This discrepancy can only rein-

force the current prejudice against social scientists who claim to be objective and then conduct studies which support the theories dearest to the experimenter's heart. This book will not benefit social science or help erase the mark of oppression.

DANIEL ROSENBLATT

Daniel Rosenblatt is engaged in postgraduate study in the field of Clinical Psychology at Harvard University.

FICTION PARADE

BEST STORIES FROM NEW WRITING. Selected and with an introduction by John Lehmann (Harcourt Brace; \$3.50).

IN THE ABSENCE OF ANGELS, by Hortense Calisher (Little, Brown; \$3).

NOVELETTE: WITH OTHER STORIES, by A. L. Barker (Scribner's; \$2.75).

It is no longer possible to dismiss the short story. The battle won by Flaubert and other novelists a century ago has been similarly won, within the last three decades, by the short-story writer. As entertainment, as a diverse and challenging art form, and as a vehicle for analyzing the most serious ideas, the short story can challenge any other contemporary literary form. Particularly in America has it come of age, and in England, as John Lehmann's collection from the files of *New Writing* attests. Reading these stories by Elizabeth Bowen, V. S. Pritchett, James Stern, George Orwell, Christopher Isherwood, William Sansom and others is a memorable literary experience; it constitutes, moreover, a graphic record of the younger English generation's intellectual temper during the past fifteen years.

As Lehmann points out in an introduction that is as intelligent as it is brief, many of the early *New Writing* authors were identified with the left-wing, anti-Fascist movement of the early thirties. Propaganda alone, however, was not the object of their art. Orwell's "Shooting an Elephant" illustrates the point. This inquiry into the nature of imperialism is one of the unforgettable socio-political allegories; it invites comparison with Swift and other neo-classic satirists. More than that, it is a great story, a vivid imaginative experience, in which characters and situation, although conceived in terms of allegorical or symbolic meaning, dominate the ideological purpose.

Like "Shooting an Elephant," many of the stories are political or social or intellectual commentaries (Isherwood's "The Nowaks" or Sansom's "How Claeys Died" or Gurnard's "Poets' Excursion"). Others evoke the remembrance of things and peoples past (of these, the most note-

worthy is Rosamond Lehmann's "The Red-Haired Miss Daintreys"). Then there are the war stories, seemingly owing their origin to their authors' need to communicate significant experiences, however painful, like the late Alun Lewis' "Ward 'O' 3 (b)" or Alec Guinness' "Money for Jam." The variety, the high seriousness, the artistic and intellectual integrity of these and other stories make this a book which no reader interested in contemporary fiction should miss.

Like many of the *New Writing* authors, Hortense Calisher is concerned with average human beings whom she dignifies with understanding and pity. Among her best stories are those centering around Hester Elkin, a sensitive second-generation New Yorker who is presented, successively, as child, adolescent, and adult. Hester believes that "in the absence of angels and arbiters from a world of light, men and women must take their place." Hester knows the intense camaraderie that only the rejected can feel for the rejected. She reacts, like many of the author's characters, against the "grey smutch of averageness" which appears to be her destiny. Miss Calisher, whose first story was published three years ago, is a talented and, usually, a well-disciplined writer. Occasionally, however, she falls into distortion and sentimentality, as in "One of the Chosen," where the tragedy is not inevitable but merely the result of the author's too skillful contrivance.

In her second collection, A. L. Barker seems to be deliberately experimenting with almost every form of short fiction: the novelette, the naturalistic slice-of-life sketch, the fantasy, the symbolic tone poem, the romantic tale. When Miss Barker exploits melodrama or high romance, she does little more than produce formula fiction redeemed from mediocrity only by flashes of insight and a constantly effective prose. When she concerns herself with human beings influenced by atavistic drives and modified by environmental forces, she is a writer to be reckoned with. "Novelette," "The Freak," "The Villain as a Young Boy" are very good stories indeed.

WILLIAM PEDEN

Books in Brief

Chicago: City on the Make, by Nelson Algren (Doubleday; \$1.25).

This tough-boy hymn to Chicago is "based" on an article Nelson Algren wrote for *Holiday* magazine with an ear cocked for the approval of Carl Sandburg. "Tonight, just as the daylight's last sleepy Boy Scout is being tucked in with a kiss and a prayer, the sullen evening's earliest torpedo slips the long cue silently from

the shadowy rack. Touches the shaded lamp above the green-baize cloth and turns on the night. Every day is D-day under the El." That kind of "sensitive" writing, much favored by undergraduate essayists during their black-coffee jags, is an embarrassment when it comes from a writer old enough to shave regularly.

Woman at Work: The Autobiography of Mary Anderson, as told to Mary N. Winslow (University of Minnesota Press; \$3.50).

Mary Anderson came to this country in 1888 as a poor Swedish farm girl of 16, speaking no English. When she retired from government service in 1944, she had been for many years an outstanding figure in the fight for improved conditions for workers in industry, and for women in particular; much of the betterment since 1888, when she got her first job as a factory worker, can be credited at least partially to her. For a quarter of a century she was head of the Women's Bureau of the US Department of Labor.

The words "as told to" in the title, usually employed to hide the services of a ghost, seem legitimate here. Miss Anderson dictated her story to a wire recorder in the presence of Miss Winslow, her long-time friend and co-worker, who then did the necessary editing job to make the book a lively record of a long and useful career.

ON THE AIR

The Big Package

TUNE IN any Monday-through-Friday morning between seven and nine and catch NBC-TV's eighth wonder of the world—*Today*, that is, the day that's yet to come. Don't hurry though; the show runs for 180 minutes—two hours in the East and two hours by Central Time, with one hour overlapping—and no one expects you to catch more than snatches of it. Before your eyes will be demonstrated every means of communication known to garrulous man; microphones and TV cameras; typewriters and teletype machines; newsreels, still photos and maps; magnetic tape recorders and phonographs; charts, tables and computing machines; the old-fashioned blackboard; control panels and monitors bringing sights and sounds from London, Tokyo, Washington, Chicago, Grand

Central Station; telephoto and the facsimile apparatus that reproduces the front page of the San Francisco *Chronicle* in the New York studio before it has hit the stands near the Golden Gate Bridge.

You will hear the latest news and weather reports and time signals to the fraction of a second; you will get reviews of the latest plays and a glimpse of the dust jacket of today's book and the magazine that will be released this afternoon. You will hear a record which won't be on sale for another hour or so, see a newsreel shot of the latest airplane crackup or last night's fashion show, look at the faces of the men and quadruplets that made the latest news and the X on the spot where the sensation is located. You will see the cameras that are sending you what you see, and the men and women with their noses pressed to the windows of RCA's Exhibition Hall, in Radio City.

Out there on the sidewalk is the live audience, women taking time out from their early-morning errands, men on their way to the office with coat collars turned up and waving yoo-hoo to the kiddies at home, some high-school kids playing hookey, the cop on Forty-ninth Street taking a dignified look. They stand there and watch Dave Garroway (you should remember him from NBC-TV's excellent but defunct Sunday-night *Garroway at Large*) stroll about, a pencil microphone in his vest, neatly kicking wires out of his way, exchanging comment with engineers or rewrite men or his newscasting assistants, James Fleming and Jack Lescoulie. With studied nonchalance, Garroway presides over the whole shebang, kingpin of the animated supermarket which NBC's publicity writers call modestly "the nerve center of the planet."

Behind NBC's "revolution in television" stands Sylvester L. ("Pat") Weaver Jr., the network's top TV panjandrum. Loaded with imagination, absolute authority to experiment, and oodles of money, Weaver is trying to bring the shape and meaning of the present into one studio. Thus far, he has succeeded only in providing a look and a listen at a sprawling production

that attempts too many things at one time and gets nowhere. The news reports have been shallow, the glimpses at all the communication media confusing, the total effect chaotic.

Weaver has ample inducement for improving the program. The potential returns to NBC and to the local stations transmitting this marathon are tremendous. Already, about \$3 million worth of commercial business has been signed, and the possible payoff is commensurate with the investment, which is of an order to impress a rajah. The staff at work on the show is headed by Abe Schechter, the man who put NBC's old radio-news setup at the head of the broadcasting parade in the early thirties. Schechter deserted the industry a couple of years ago, when he left Mutual for a magazine job. Now he's back as Weaver's chief supervisor for *Today*. Under Schechter are any number of producers and special-eventers—such experts as Mort Werner, Bill Stuart, Charles Spear and Caroline Burke—men and women not known to the air audiences but appreciated by the trade. Every NBC correspondent, at home and abroad, is knocking himself out to land with the latest and the most on *Today*. Press agents and propagandists, of course, are drooling at the opportunities they see here, but the men behind the mikes and cameras are too smart to fall for routine ballyhoo.

With all the time given to this show, it should be able to get beneath the surface. True, Garroway reminds the audience that it is not expected to look for a full two hours nor, indeed, to watch the screen at all. You can just listen if shaving or getting the kids off to school interferes. But this program's object is to make its audience as constant and as large as possible. And the larger the audience, the greater is NBC's responsibility to provide not only news but interpretation, to go beyond the big cities and "prime" news sources into the smaller communities, to report what's in the small-town weeklies, to cover the theatre in Pittsburgh's Playhouse and Atlanta's local Arena Theatre—in other words, to beat the backwoods, to reflect America and the world, and

not merely Radio City and its equivalents in other big towns.

I think all this could be done by *Today*. During the short period it's been on the air, there have been improvements. Others are contemplated. I hear through the grapevine that one of the producers has lined up a most gorgeous dame (he describes her as "highly visible") to act as a reporter on the air because her presence may infuse some sex appeal. That's fine. But more civic appeal is also in order. When that's added, Pat Weaver will have justified not only *Today* but also the counterpart he is planning, a mid-night-to-two-a.m. excursion into free-wheeling communications, to be called *Tonight*.

SAUL CARSON

THEATRE

O'Neill Revived

A CERTAIN ETHICS makes it impossible for me to review the production of *Desire Under the Elms* which I directed under the auspices of ANTA. What is worse, my participation in the ANTA production makes it just as difficult for me to review the City Center revival of *Anna Christie*, since, obviously, criticism of the latter might be construed as a "plug" for the former. All this is nonsense. If all the O'Neill plays were to be done simultaneously I hope that the playgoing public would have the good sense to see them all. If we had a national theatre, both plays—*Anna* was first produced in 1921; *Desire* in 1924—would be part of its permanent repertory.

It would be easy—and idiotic—to list O'Neill's limitations. The fact is that he is our outstanding dramatist. He is that not simply because of the merit of his individual plays (about which there is and should be constant dispute) but because he is the one American playwright who has consistently written as an artist. Most American playwrights do not write enough for their output to be judged as a body of work. They have not even failed often enough to be critically exciting.

When I speak of O'Neill as an artist I mean that he has always come to the theatre to say deeply felt things which are part of a personal problem that is at the same time a general problem. He is a man in quest of faith. Fundamentally religious, he grew up in a time of rather facile skepticism and gross rationalism. O'Neill is not a man for fads or fashions, that is, for quick solutions. The fact that he has never seemed able to resolve his problem is a symptom of his probity; the quest itself gives evidence of a health that transcends other debilities.

Most of the important creators in the American arts since 1865 are crude; O'Neill is no exception. He was trying to embody a life experience through material that was part of our common American history—a history that moved so fast, and was, so to speak, devoured so rapidly, that it seemed to disappear before it was absorbed. When that history was confronted rather than exploited for purposes of entertainment, O'Neill found in it a violence and pathos that even today act as a shock in the theatre.

O'Neill is not primarily a realist. Even *Anna Christie* is constantly reaching out to say something that extends beyond its simple story. One finds oneself wondering why the naïveté and awkwardness of the diction and structure of the play touch us instead of making us scoff. "Fog, fog, fog, all bloody time! You can't see where you are going. No! Only dat old devil sea, she knows!" Papa Christopherson murmurs into the void as the play ends. In this spirit of questioning and deep earnestness, O'Neill makes the destiny of an obscure woman part of a mystery in which he compels us to realize we all share. The "fog" represents our daily experience; the "old devil sea" is the inscrutable X of our lives or, perhaps, God.

Desire Under the Elms breaks through the realistic framework of the early full-length plays (*Beyond the Horizon* as well as *Anna*). It has in it a legendary quality, an epic scope; it attempts to equate the drama of its five main characters with the essence of the American story: the struggle to find the

reward of life through the power of the acquisitive will (which was what the first Americans were forced to do) pitted against the urge to forgo the profits of this will for the fruits of love which could be born only from a sense of sharing. The stake of this struggle within the play is the Farm, but the Farm is the entire country. "It's a jim-dandy farm—no denying it. I wish I owned it." A minor character says this at the final curtain and it sums up what the struggle would be for many years to come.

O'Neill is not a great *writer*: he is a *playwright* of a very high order. His "atmosphere" is more telling than his verbiage—and that atmosphere is the very stuff of the theatre. But whereas we often say this about matter toward which we take a somewhat patronizing attitude, here we intend to designate that intensity of action and meaning which is the core of dramatic poetry.

The Shrike, with a script by Joseph Kramm, is an effective show on a somewhat clinical theme. It presents a man being driven to the verge of insanity by the conditions that obtain in the psychopathic ward of a city hospital. His dilemma, beyond this, is that in order to avoid being permanently committed to the hell of a state institution, he must sacrifice his relationship to a woman with whom he is happy and return to a wife whom he no longer loves, a wife who would rather see him shut up and hopelessly lost than allow him to escape her.

The play is admirably produced. Howard Bay's setting is exactly right. The cast is well chosen. José Ferrer's direction and acting are fine: in fact, with the exception of a brief appearance in a Chekhov monologue on the harmfulness of tobacco, this is the best acting I have ever seen Ferrer do. Judith Evelyn is almost equally good. I must warn the playgoer, however, that unless he likes to be tormented in the theatre he will find the proceedings as unpleasant as they are well contrived. Apart from the technical expertness of the job, there is no alleviation of the ugliness.

HAROLD CLURMAN

MAGAZINE

"YUGOSLAV REVIEW"

A **NEW** Monthly Publication
In English • Illustrated
First Issue—January, 1952

Complete and thorough coverage of the international and domestic news of Yugoslavia—a country in a key position in European affairs. It will also contain articles on Yugoslav politics, agriculture, art, culture, etc.

Special introductory offer
1 year subscription \$1.00

Order today—Write Dept. NR

YUGOSLAV REVIEW

816 5th Ave., New York 21, N. Y.

SCHOOL

MANUIT SCHOOL

• Boys and girls 6-18 develop individuality in free creative atmosphere. intercultural. College preparatory. Dramatics, art, music, sciences, mathematics. 80-acre farm in Bucks County between New York and Philadelphia. Friendly, informal, homelike. Healthful outdoor life. Horses. Summer camp. Catalog.
W. M. and B. G. C. FINCKE, Co-Directors,
Box R, R. F. D. No. 2, Bristol, Pennsylvania

BOOKS

ATHEIST BOOKS, 32-page catalogue free.
Truth Seeker Co., 38 Park Row, N. Y. C. 8.

LITERARY SERVICES

AUTHORS! Sales department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet. Write to-day! Mead Literary Agency, 419 4th Ave., New York 16, N. Y. (Or. 9-1150).

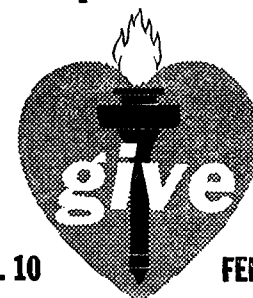
PERSONAL

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone you would like to know.
Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you.
We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified 'social introductions.'
Write for booklet, or phone
MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. N.R., 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2033



new hope for hearts



FEB. 10

FEB. 16

AMERICAN HEART WEEK

Special Combination Offer

.....

New Republic Harper's Magazine

52 issues
(regularly \$6.50)

12 issues
(regularly \$5.00)

BOTH for only \$8.50
Value \$11.50

Two distinguished magazines, a weekly and a monthly, for little more than the price of one.

The *New Republic*, each week, appeals to citizens eager to keep abreast of significant news, to learn what's behind it, and what the future holds—social, economic, political. Independent, courageous, engagingly written by the foremost liberal journalists and thinkers.

Harper's Magazine is a general monthly famous for authoritative analysis and interpretation of contemporary affairs—political, social, and cultural—with first-rate fiction, verse and criticism.

Now you may subscribe to both at the low rate of only \$8.50, provided they are ordered at the same time and payment is sent with your order. Subscriptions may be new or renewal and may be mailed to separate addresses. Foreign postage \$2.50 extra, Canadian postage, \$1.

Order Today

*while this low combination rate
is in effect! It cannot be guaran-
teed for the next subscription
season.*

NEW REPUBLIC
40 East 49 Street • New York 17, N. Y.

Please enter this magazine order:

One year of the *New Republic* and *Harper's Magazine* for \$8.50, for which I enclose payment. (Foreign and Canadian Postage Extra.)

NAME

ADDRESS

2-4-52